Sinkiang from this time on. Under their kindly patronage a cosmopolitan scholarship developed in the Western Regions, and to it Arab, Khitan, Mongol, Persian, and Tibetan, as well as Chinese, contributed. The vestiges of learned tomes, once impressive shrines, and even whole cities that are buried in the sands of the Takla Makan are evidences even now of this once flourishing native culture.

Authorities of the New Sinkiang have been re-awakening the pride of the Wei-wu-erh people of today on the basis of this ancient kingdom's grandeur, and these Wei-wu-erh may indeed be the modern heirs of the Uighur traditions. Tu Chung-yüan, who is one of those who openly calls the Wei-wu-erh the original settlers of the province, says that they are distributed throughout the south and in much of the north, being especially strong around Ha mi, Kucha, Kashgar, and Khotan.

One of their principal centers is Kashgar. Perhaps these people are not as strict as some other Mohammedans in their observance of the principles of the Koran, but they do have great reverence for many Islamic rites and observances. They are of the Sunni sect, one of the two great branches into which Islam was split in 645 when the Caliphate was assumed by Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law, in the midst of a dispute over the succession which has remained heated ever since. Whereas the Kanjutis across the border in Northwest India are Shias and follow a leader who traces his lineage to Caliph Ali, the Wei-wu-erh of Kashgar are among the most loyal Sunni Moslems in Chinese Turkestan.

The Wei-wu-erh have deep-set eyes and high noses, and Chinese are inclined to group them racially with the Turks. The girls are often exceptionally beautiful, with eyelashes inclined upwards and with jet hair topped by cheery pompoms and quaint petite caps. Maturity comes early in Turkestan, and often these girls marry before they are fifteen. Betrothal is pledged by a girl's father and mother, and the ceremony is performed by the local *A-hung,* or priest. There is understandable gaiety on the occasion, and considerable piping and drumming. The bride finally is borne on a donkey to the house of her future husband for completion of the ritual. If the husband and wife do not prove

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

Ramazan fast, and at Qurban, the schoolmaster receives two tengas. During the winter months each child brings one stick of firewood, as well as one *dachin* as its contribution to the expense of papering the windows of the schoolroom; most of these "perks" are retained by the schoolmaster. The "teaching" consists merely in making the children sing the lesson over and over again at the top of their voices, all together, until it is known by heart; the more noise a school makes, the higher the reputation of the schoolmaster.

The conditions of the "marriage market" and many of the matrimonial customs of the Eastern Turkis differ widely from those obtaining among the Kirghiz of the mountains, described in Chapter XI above. Instead of being at a premium, women are at a discount and no bride-price is paid. For a man, marriage is easy and cheap, and divorce even easier and cheaper. Among the agricultural classes, which form the large majority of the population, a man has seldom more than one wife at a time; but in the cities many men have at least two, always, be it noted, living in different towns or in different quarters of the same town. The harem system is unknown and would be impossible in Kashgar, owing to the quarrelsomeness of the women. The marriage age for girls is 12–14, for boys 15–16. The matches are always arranged between the respective parents, the wishes of the young people not being consulted. D. noticed at Kashgar that there was a great deal of rivalry among mothers about getting their daughters married off at the earliest possible age; even among the children themselves, a girl who reaches the age of fourteen without a husband is unmercifully chaffed by her companions. On the other hand, the Indian custom of not allowing a boy to see his fiancée until the wedding-day does not exist in Chinese Turkistan; the children have often known and played with each other for years.

A certain amount of ceremony and importance attaches to a girl's first *toi* or marriage. Her parents give a party to all the neighbours; the *imam* and *mu'azzin* are again present, and the bride and bridegroom eat together bread dipped in salt and water. Food and money are also given to the beggars and fees to the mullas; the bride receives a trousseau of clothes, jewellery and household utensils (*toiluk*), the bridegroom a coat and a pair of boots. The total expenses of a

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

run away back to their parents, whereas they will actually spend several hundred tengas on *toiluk* (trousseau) for the privilege of marrying a good-looking *jawan*. In the snatches of love-songs given below it will be noticed that the poet's "mistress" is often called *jawan*, never *chokan* or *qiz* (girl). The popular standpoint is expressed in the following old rhyme:

Jān qadrini kīm bīlsun?	Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Aghriq bilma'e sāq na bilsun.	Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
Er qadrini kīm bilsun?	What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Jawān bilma'e qiz na bilsun.	Not the girl who has never been a *jawan*.

To marry one's daughter to an infidel—a Chinaman or a Hindu—is regarded as no less disgraceful than to put her on the streets, and only the poorest do it. It is significant that the word used for a lady of easy virtue—*jallāb*—is also applied to Turki wives of Chinese (other than Chinese Mussulmans) and Hindus. They are excommunicated by the priests and ostracized by their class. There are compensations, however. Chinamen and Hindus are much better husbands than Turkis, and the wives of "infidels" usually amass wealth. The wife of a Hindu is in a particularly strong position. Her husband has no legal rights over her; if she runs away, the mullas will not lift a finger for him, and he must "shell out" again if he wants another wife. She can thus hold over him the threat of returning to her family, and tap his money-bags with confidence for herself and her relations. When he dies, she usually gets away with some or all of his property; two or three cases were brought before me in which this had happened. But it is interesting to note that Islam usually triumphs at the last; an infidel's wife will often use her wealth to purchase an "indulgence" on her death-bed and the right to a Mussulman burial. When she feels her end approaching, she will leave her home and settle in another town, where she is received back into the fold by the Imam and the *uttuz-oghle*. She gives liberal donations to shrines and dedicates some or all of her land as *waqf* (religious trust) to the Church. The Qazi prescribes certain prayers and observances for the donor, who then dies in peace and is buried with full Mussulman rites. There is one serious drawback, however, to marrying a Hindu trader; and that is the fact that if and when he

3: Skrine G-3 (1922-1924) 1926 All Sinkiang All

582 returns to India or dies, he or his next-of-kin, as the case may be, invariably demands his male children, if any; his right to them, as to his own property, is recognized by the mullas. If the boys are less than five years old, the father leaves money according to law for their maintenance until that age, but arranges through the *panchayat* (association of Hindu traders in the town) for their despatch to India as soon as possible afterwards. This is naturally a grievance with the Turki mothers.

764 The observances connected with death and burial are elaborate and expensive. On the day of the death alms in cash and a piece of soap each are given to the beggars. This is according to the Qur'anic injunction, but the "wakes" which follow are not *shar'i* (according to Muhammadan law), but *rasmi* or "customary," i.e. pagan or Chinese. They are not approved by the Church. On the third day (in well-to-do households) the whole quarter, rich and poor, is invited to a feast at which not only are large quantities of food consumed, but presents of clothes are given to all and sundry; this, I understand, is a Chinese custom. On the seventh day another feast is given, at which only relations and friends are present. The actual funeral takes place on the day following death. Those present wear a mourning costume consisting of black clothes with a white waistband; this latter is another concession to Chinese ideas, according to which the mourning colour is white, not black. Expenditure in connection with a funeral varies from 30 to 500 taels, according to the capacity of the household; only a small proportion of this is set off by the presents, called *ta'ziyāt*, given to the next-of-kin by his friends and relations. Great importance is attached to the lamentations (*qushāq*) of the deceased's relatives at a funeral, which are regarded as helping him in some way—an obvious relic of paganism. According to an old popular rhyme:

Sahr waqtida chirlaghalé	For crowing at the dawn
Chā khuraz yakhshi;	Spotted chanticleer is best;
Qushāq qushup yighlaghalé	For keening at a wake
Qarindāsh yakhshi.	A loved one is the best.

Some of the elegiacs sung by widows are really beautiful; for example:

Qupselār Allah dep qupghān Khojam
Yatselār Allah dep yatghan Khojam.
Yāz uzūqum, Khojam,
Qish yapinjim, Khojam.
Sui-yoq kulda qāldem,
Sayasi-yoq bostānda qāldem.

563 621 593 562 /Oirats/

return to her father's family, in which case she forfeits all rights which were hers as a member of her husband's family.

The oldest male of the oldest family holds the position of 563 622 "axalaci" which carries with it the right of final authority in the group. Upon the death of the "axalaci" authority over the "xotn" is invested in his wife who in turn passes the care of the herds on to her oldest son or a younger brother of her husband.

[422] [233] Herds are the common property of the "xotn" but are managed by the "axalaci." However, the cattle belonging to dependent related or non-related families are managed by the owners and is not the common property of the "xotn."

563 622 59 233 If any of the sons of the "axalaci" desires to move away from the family and establish himself independently, he can rightfully claim a percentage of the common herd. If the particular times happen to be especially prosperous so that cattle are in such abundance that pasturage in one area is lacking to supply them all, the son might be encouraged to leave, the pressure for his departure increasing if there were ample manpower to get along without him.

563 622 233 428 When the "axalaci" dies the herds are distributed evenly among his children, with the exception of the eldest son, who receives a larger percentage than his younger brothers. A certain percentage also passes into the ownership of the clergy.

563 621 The "xotn" or encampment is a political as well as an economic unit. It is termed a "fifteen" (does this mean that each "xotn" was broken into units of fifteen yurts, or is it simply a convenient term synonomous with "xotn"? The reference is vague on this point.)

563 628 [626] If a crime is committed by a member of a particular "fifteen" against an individual or group outside of his own "fifteen" the entire unit will be penalized for this infraction of the law. Thus, a strong element of social control was made operative

563 62 [65] [582] The "xotn" is also a very convenient unit for purposes of taxation, and as a resource of cattle and other animals it was the income for the nobility and the lamaseries. In addition the encampment is an exogamic unit.

The use of pasturage among the various "xotan" is based 563 628 233 423 primarily on tradition. Each has several hundred acres of land from which they choose a part each summer and each winter. If by chance one group needs the pasturage of another, the former will ask permission, and this will normally be granted. Special arrangements have always to be made, however; no group can simply move in on another's pasturage.

563 622 628 The axalaci of several "fifteens" in addition to chosen

563 "chief-elder". The charismatic character of such an elder is of
622 prime importance. His wealth, his public influence, his reputa-
[354] tion, his military ability and his moral integrity form the basis
of his social status.

692 Internal order is maintained by unwritten common law. Judges
563 act by custom and conscience alone. When a cause of action arises,
671 the litigants, in lieu of blood-vengeance, agree to refer the matter
to a court of their own choosing and to abive by its decision. Either
both sides agree on one or two biks to settle the case, or each
selects a bik, and a third man is chosen as arbiter. Civil and
[674] criminal law are not distinguished. Crimes are really torts, and
[681] can be settled out of court by compromise. Hence, the criminal
is not punished; he simply pays damages, which represent a sort
681 of compounding of the earlier lex talionis. Custom prescribes a
563 graded schedule of damages, ranging from a wergild (kun) of 100
horses, 1000 sheep, or 50 camels for homicide, through lesser
payments in cattle for adultery, fraud, and serious personal in-
juries or assault, to a horse and a robe or skin for slander,
breaking a finger or tooth, and minor assaults. The full wergild
must be paid for killing a man, one-half for a woman or slave,
and one-third for a child under ten. The circumstances and in-
tent are not considered. However, a man pays no penalty for
killing his child, slave or adulterous wife. For cattle theft, a
man must restore the stolen animals and, in addition, pay twice
their number as damages. For rape of an unbetrothed girl he
must marry the girl, give her father the usual bride-price, and
pay him a fine of nine head of cattle.

563 Usually before a boy reaches the age of ten, his father seeks
584 a wife for him. Neither the boy nor the girl has much voice in
the transaction. Since the nomadic Turks practice strict clan
[614] exogamy the boy's father must select a girl of suitable qualifica-
tions from another clan. He then sends matchmakers to her
563 father to arrange the bride-price "kalym". Except where a
583 brother and sister are married by exchange to a sister and
584 brother, marriage is always by purchase. The bride-price,
payable in horses, cattle, sheep and camels, varies with the
means of the groom and the desirability of the bride, forty animals
representing perhaps an average kalym. In return, the bride
takes with her from her father's home a dowry, much inferior in
value, consisting usually of a yurt, a riding horse or other
animals, a chest of clothing, rugs, beddings, and other house-
[582] hold articles. Marriage is deferred until the children attain
[884] their majority.

/The New Uighurs/

563 out clearly by the Orkhon inscriptions in which the Khaqan com-
121 plains bitterly of the Turkic susceptibility to Chinese culture,
175 and the rapid sinification of his people. In this sense, sinification meant that the Turkic tribes gradually gave up their nomadic life and settled in more permanent camp sites. These events had strong repercussions on Turkic social structure, which moved from kinship to function and territory. After the New Uighurs had been expelled from their ancestral lands by the Kirghiz in 840 A.D. they settled around the Tarim Basin. They had to [177] abandon their nomadic way of life and to learn Chinese irrigation practices in order to survive and to maintain a certain level of productivity.

563 Thus the New Uighurs established what may be called an
175 irrigation civilization. Class lines in New Uighur society became
565 more flexible. Whereas noble status was based on descent in
554 the nomadic era, high social prestige and, therefore, high status was now attained by wealth gained through efficient labor and irrigational practices. Nearly all the irrigation canals were dug by collective effort. However, the actual water right of each farmer was in proportion to the quantity of labor he contributed to the digging. Irrigation regulation was entirely a matter of self-government. The Mirab, or keeper [624] of the registry and person in charge of water distribution, and his assistant the Kokbeshi, were chosen by the village. This meant considerable social mobility, though traces of a more rigid class structure remain. For example, the Aqsaqal is the successor to the former tribal chieftain, but unlike the former he is chosen from among the villagers, and his office [777] is not hereditary as was that of the tribal leader. Class lines based on racial distinctions do not exist among the New Uighurs, since the unifying factor in the society is not race but religion. [582] Should a New Uighur marry a Chinese woman, she becomes a member of the community by "baptism."

563 The following distinctions may be noted in the New Uighur
565 class system as a whole:

[423] 1. About two-thirds of the New Uighur population belongs to the small peasantry, holding title to one to three acres of irrigated land. On rare occasions a small peasant may till up to thirty acres. Politically, this social stratum has little or no power, unless they participate as a group in a mass movement.

[423] 2. About one-eighth of the New Uighur population belongs to the "landed gentry" holding title to fifty or more acres. All their land usually is rented to tenant farmers, who pay the landlord up to eighty per cent of the land's produce. Politically, this segment of the New Uighur class structure is the strongest, or at least it was, prior to 1949. Usually the communal leaders are elected from this segment of the population.

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

563 592 562 [565] The focus of the family is on the sons, who above all provide the continuity of the family, and also aid the family economically before they establish their own households. Among the lower classes, daughters also often are very desirable. There is always a chance that a daughter, particularly if she is good-looking, will bring a wealthy husband to the family. The family expects nothing of their son after the age of 15 or 16 when he marries and sets up a household for himself. [582]

563 592 593 182 A statement can be made, applying particularly to the sedentary Turkic Moslems in Sinkiang, that the relationships within the family are not as fixed and close as they are in China proper. This is due mainly to the factor that the institution of the family as a whole is loosely bound and unstable. Membership in the family nucleus changes often with the frequent conclusions and dissolutions of marriages. A great degree of permanency exists among the agricultural population, but most of the city-dwellers are subject to constant permutations.

563 593 178 The Islamic relationships between husband and wife are the basic patterns existing in Sinkiang, but they have been modified by local customs, and are less rigid and extreme in severity.

593 562 563 The husband-wife relationships are not based on equality, legal or otherwise. The differences in the family positions of the husband and wife are mainly a manifestation of the general attitudes toward men and women in Islamic society. A woman is considered a weak and irresponsible being, who is subject to impulses and whose behavior is largely irrational. Man, being the superior of the two, is given the authority and place of importance within the family. Islamic law, which established the man as leader and head of the family, obliges him not to misuse his power and to be generous to those who depend on him. In practice, the prerogatives accompanying the husband's superior position are often abused for his own advantage. [611] [779]

In Sinkiang the women's position is not as low as in other Moslem centers. The wife enjoys some rights which give her a certain degree of independence and freedom. Under certain circumstances, which will be discussed later, she can obtain a divorce on her own initiative, and she has some property rights. According to Islamic law her foremost obligation is to respect and honor her husband. Obedience to the husband is stressed in theory but is not as fully practiced. Women here participate in economic life to a greater degree than in most Moslem countries, and have some rights themselves. Consequently, they also enjoy a better social status. The Moslem women of Sinkiang appear with their husbands in the presence of male visitors, while in other Moslem countries they are forbidden to appear in the presence even of their husband's father or his elder brother. In Sinkiang a woman frequently leaves the house unaccompanied, without asking the

/Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

593 permission of her husband. This is unheard of among orthodox
562 Moslems. These few incidents are indicative of the general
563 attitude in Sinkiang to women and the place they occupy in society and in their families.

563 The father-son relationship is very important, particularly
593 when the son has not yet established a home for himself and is living at his father's house. The father initiates his son in a trade
[868] and provides a wife for him. In most cases the father provides
[584] his son with a strip of land or some property after he is married
[425] to start him in life. After his father's death, the son inherits his
[428] property, and his prestige and social status (if he has any). How-
[171] ever, the relationships of father-son is not as seriously regarded as it is in China, where it carries such an immense value. The son does not always stay with his father. In some cases of divorce,
[586] it may be agreed that the mother will take care of the son, in which even the son is subject to his mother's influence. Otherwise, the mother-son relationship is not as important as that of the father-son. The mother's influence on her son's life is not as significant as it is on the daughter.

The father-daughter relationship is much looser. The father has much less contact with his daughter than with his son. He is mainly interested in marrying her off and making some profit out of the marriage deal. If he is an orthodox Moslem he may hardly
[582] see her at all, the custom being that men eat separately. The daughter leaves home at a very early age (twelve to fourteen)to get married, and if she is not divorced, her father is likely to see her very few times after she has left home.

The mother-daughter relationship is closer and warmer. Both stay home, and the mother's duty is to teach her daughter household duties and social manners. Mother and daughter are likely to maintain a fairly close relationship even after the daughter's
[586] marriage. In general, in cases of divorce, the father will keep the sons and the mother will keep the daughters, and the small children who are nursing. Exceptions do occur where the mother keeps all the children, or the father agrees to take care of a daughter. The arrangements depend on the agreement reached between the parents, and on their economic conditions.

Primarily as a result of the unstable family conditions, the relationship between brothers is the loosest of the family ties. In many cases brothers may not be full brothers, but may have a different mother or a different father. In the lower classes, brothers often go to seek fortune in a different town or a different section of town, and lose complete contact with each other. Fortune, wealth, and social status may also put gaps between brothers. They generally do not know each other very well and lose complete contact after their own marriages. Brother-sister relationships hardly ever attain a close association. The girls leave home at an

563
548 /Sedentary Moslems of Sinkiang/

Prostitution is not widespread among the Moslem Turks, and in many places it is hardly known. Travellers who are separated [588] from their wives often will contract temporary marriages when they are in strange towns for a length of time. At the time that this marriage is contracted, a future divorce is written also. There are, however, quite a few Chinese prostitutes in the main cities where the Chinese reside in great numbers.

563 B. Marriage and Divorce Customs

582 Among the Moslem Turks of Northwest China the marriage age is usually 12-14 for girls, and 15-16 for boys. The Islamic religion considers incestuous such combinations as the following: brother and sister, uncle and niece, stepfather and stepdaughter, aunt and nephew, stepson and widowed stepmother, etc. Besides these restrictions, it is considered unethical to marry one's daughter to an infidel, a Chinese, a Tibetan, a Hindu, or a Mongol.

563 584 Matchmaking is a necessary prelude to marriage. The matches are usually concluded by the parents while the individuals concerned have little to say in the issue. It is not uncommon for parents to arrange their children's marriage before they reach marriage age or even soon after they are born. Next to the parents, the matchmakers play the most important role in the conclusion of a marriage. In some places the matchmakers are close male relatives of the bridegroom's father; in others, this role often is given to women, who engage in concluding deals of this kind.

The usual procedure is for the matchmakers, authorized by the father of the boy, to go to the prospective bride's parents to discuss the matter with her father. If they receive the consent of the girl's parents to consider the matter, they go back to the boy's father and inform him of the developments. He then sends a present of a sheep to the girl's house five or six days later, and comes with his family to discuss the gifts that his son is going to give the bride and arrangements for the wedding. The former [583] issue usually involves much bargaining and disputing. The young man pays no actual bride-price for his wife, but he has to give her gifts consisting of clothing items and jewelry. The value of the presents often depends on the wealth and social status of the bridegroom's family. Once an agreement has been reached, the sheep is slaughtered for the occasion and the engagement of the couple is celebrated. The wedding gifts are brought to the bride's parents, and their acceptance is considered the final conclusion of the agreement.

563 585 If it is the first marriage of the girl importance is attached to the wedding ceremony. Her parents extend an invitation to a great many relatives and friends or, if rich, they may invite the whole village or the whole neighborhood to the celebration. The mullas, who will conduct the religious ceremony, are also present. The

/Chinese Moslems (Dungans)/

the other. Then he turns over any seven pages of the Koran, and from the seventh word of the seventh line of the seventh page, takes the name. When a male child reaches his seventh birthday he is circumcised and taught to worship.

c. Marriage

The marriage customs of the Chinese Moslems, with the exception of the wedding ceremony itself, are the same as those of the Chinese. The bridegroom is accompanied by his father to the bride's home, where the ceremony is performed. The Ahung reads from the Koran, in a manner similar to that of the Christian marriage service, then asks the couple whether they agree to the union.

In Koko Nor (Chinghai) the bride is customarily covered with a piece of red cloth after the ceremony, then lifted by her uncle or brother into the sedan chair and sent to the groom's home. Upon arriving there she is lifted out by her relatives. She wears a veil on the first day and hides in her chamber while relatives and guests sing, dance and feast in celebration. On the second day she receives guests, bowing to each one. Meanwhile the guests present their gifts and congratulations.

Exogamic marriage is permissable to the extent that a man may marry a Han Chinese woman, who is supposed by marriage to become a Moslem. Before such a marriage the girl must submit to elaborate purification ceremonies to cleanse her from the defilement of her own home. The Ahung officiates at the wedding and the Chinese custom of worshiping heaven and earth is not performed.

d. Funeral and burial

The funeral customs of the Chinese Moslems are more distinct from those of the Chinese. The dead body is washed ceremoniously by religious leaders from the mosque, who take the garments of the deceased for themselves. The body is then swathed in white bandages, each limb being bandaged separately. Correct performance of this rite is very important. Well-to-do people sprinkle incense on the cloth used for bandages. The wealthy also place large quantities of musk and camphor in the grave. The corpse is placed upon a board under which are the bands necessary for lowering it into the grave, then covered with a bottomless coffin for the trip to the cemetery. The coffin is never interred. The corpse is placed in the grave with head to the north, feet to the south and face toward Mecca.

When the deceased is a woman, only members of the family may look on when the coffin is removed, and only blood relatives, preferably sons, may descend into the grave to arrange the body.

There are elaborate instructions concerning death. Rituals include the recitation of prayers as death approaches, the

/The Kirghiz/

563 262 [484] When a Kirghiz travels, he brings along a few balls of qurut and supplements them with wild rhubarb and celery which he finds on the mountainsides.

[735] Bread is made in solid lumps leavened with sour milk. The poor cannot afford bread. They eat large quantities of mash. Meat is a luxury. A sheep is killed only on an important occasion, but when the hunter is successful his family enjoys game meat.

c. Clothing

563 291 The people dress in keeping with the severity of the climate. Men wear long coats padded with cotton-wool. Trousers are also padded, and tucked into the leather knee-boots. Fur caps are pulled down over the ears to protect them from the bitter cold. Leather slippers are worn inside the boots, and the boots are removed when one enters the tent.

Women's dress is similar to that of the men, except for the headgear. The women's headdress is a large turban of muslin or similar cloth, nine to twelve inches high and of corresponding thickness. For dress, men wear embroidered skullcaps surmounted by sheepskin hoods lined with wool. They also sometimes wear a conical hat with two slits at the bottom to allow the brim to turn up.

3. Custom

563 583 562 Girls are at a premium in Kirghiz society, and the father of a would-be bridegroom has to pay a handsome price for the bride in money or its equivalent in livestock (thirty to three hundred sheep and two to thirty camels). Parents betroth their

563 584 583 son when he reaches the age of six or seven, to some neighbor's daughter of about the same age. A bride price is then settled by women relatives of both families. The boy's father pays a first annual installment, and the girl's father gives the boy a shirt or coat as a token of the betrothal. Then the marriage contract is complete. If for any reason the contract is broken, the installments paid are refunded. When the agreed amount has been

563 585 [582] paid in full and the bride and groom have reached the proper age (fourteen for girls, sixteen for boys), the boy's parents invite all the neighbors to a feast and announce the marriage. The bride and groom do not attend the feast, but remain in their tents all day. There is no ceremony. The feast and announcement, known as the Nikah, constitute the wedding.

563 585 591 The bridegroom is not yet allowed to take his bride away from her home. She continues to live with her parents for two to five months, during which time her parents make and furnish a tent (aq-ai) for them. Meanwhile the boy remains at home, if it is nearby, or in a tent lent him by the girl's parents. He may

[606] go every seven or ten days and stay with the girl in her tent, but the visits must be kept secret from her father. If he appears before his father-in-law, it must be as a stranger.

/The New Uighurs/

000 can marry easily, and divorce their wives even more easily. A
563 farmer seldom has more than one wife, but a city man usually
[595] has at least two, living in different parts of town. The marriage
[369] age for girls is twelve to fourteen; for boys, fifteen to sixteen.
[582] Matches are arranged by parents, and often the children have
[584] known and played with each other for years. Ceremonies are
563 performed at the girl's first marriage. Her parents invite all
585 their neighbors to a feast, at which the leaders of the mosque
are also present. Together the bride and bridegroom eat some
[152] bread dipped in salt water. Customarily the bride and her
mother weep and wail aloud during the ceremony. The mullahs
are paid a fee for performing the rites, and food and money are
given to beggars. All expenses are paid by the bride's family.
The only liability incurred by the bridegroom is the hagg-i-mihr,
a settlement for his wife. Theoretically the wife can claim this
settlement at any time before her death, but it is never claimed
except at divorce, and occasionally this old tradition is omitted.

A procession of musicians accompanies the bride, who rides a pony or donkey or walks in front of the others from the home of her parents to the home of her husband. When she arrives at her new home, she is lifted over the threshold by her husband and his relatives.

[556] Several days after the wedding, the bride's family, if wealthy, gives one party for the men of the two families, and one for the women.

b. Coming of age

563 Women do not reach their full social status until they are
562 thirty or older, when they attain the dignity of jawanlik. A
885 woman who has reached this age of discretion is called a jawan,
[302] and is privileged to braid her hair in two long plaits.

This coming of age is celebrated by a feast known as jawanlik toi, given by the husband. For the first time the woman appears with her braids, and wearing a special shirt known as the jawan-chi konglak. After this celebration she is more important in the home and commands more respect from others. She is also
[581] worth more on the marriage market, as the younger bride has a tendency to run back to her parents. A New Uighur man would rather obligate himself heavily to marry a good-looking jawan than to take a young girl. The word jawan can always be found
[533] in their love songs, as in the following example:
[539] "Who is it who knows what health is worth?
Not the healthy man who has never been ill.
What woman is it that knows worth in a man?
Not the girl who has never been a jawan." (Skrine 1926:203)

c. Remarriage

563 Remarriage is not condemned in New Uighur society. The
587 average man is a lazy, good-natured, easy-going and rather